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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE BICENTENARY

OF THE

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Including Recommendations for Ceremonial Events, Exhibits, Conferences, and Publications

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PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

LINDY (Mrs. HALE) BOGGS, *Chairman*

By Raymond W. Smock

HISTORIAN AND DIRECTOR, OFFICE FOR THE BICENTENNIAL

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 16, 1986.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed.

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COMMISSION ON THE BICENTENARY OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

LINDY (MRS. HALE) BOGGS, *Chairman*

MEMBERS

PETER RODINO
PHIL SHARP
BUD SHUSTER
NEWT GINGRICH
PAUL HENRY

FORMER MEMBERS SERVING ON COMMISSION

RICHARD BOLLING
JOHN J. RHODES

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS

JIM WRIGHT, *Majority Leader*
ROBERT MICHEL, *Minority Leader*

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, October 15, 1986.

Hon. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Section 8 of H. Res. 249, establishing the Commission on the United States House of Representatives Bicentenary, I am pleased to submit herewith the final report of the Commission for the 99th Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

LINDY (Mrs. HALE) BOGGS,
Chairman.

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99TH CONGRESS
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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OCTOBER 16, 1986.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mrs. BOGGS, from the Commission on the United States House of Representatives Bicentenary, submitted the following

REPORT

BACKGROUND

March 4, 1989, will mark the two-hundredth anniversary of the convening of the First Federal Congress in New York City. This Congress was responsible for inaugurating the new government of the United States under the Constitution. Within its first session, the Congress administered the election and inauguration of President George Washington, established the first executive departments, created the Supreme Court and federal judiciary system, and submitted the Bill of Rights for ratification by the states. The First Federal Congress insured the success of a strong central government by establishing a revenue system, providing for the uniform regulation of commerce, and guaranteeing the payment of the national debt. By the time of adjournment in 1791, Congress had established a national bank, commissioned a regular census and admitted Kentucky and Vermont to statehood. The remarkable record of legislation in the First Congress translated the plans of the Founding Fathers into a working system of government and secured popular respect for the new Constitution.

Series of Related Bicentennials

The House of Representatives and the Senate have created separate commissions to develop appropriate plans for the commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Congress. The bicentennial of Congress and the federal government will be one of several bicentennials beginning in 1987 with the two-hundredth anniversary of the drafting of the Constitution, continuing through the bi-

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centennial of the ratification of the Constitution in 1988 and culminating with the two-hundredth anniversary of the Bill of Rights in 1991. (See Appendix B.) The Congress has provided for a Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (P.L. 98–101) to lead the national celebration of the Constitution. This Commission is chaired by retired Chief Justice of the United States, Warren E. Burger. Two House Members, Lindy Boggs and Phil Crane, serve on the Commission. These Members have been instrumental in assisting the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution with legislation and, along with the Senate Members of that Commission, they have provided important liaison and fostered cooperation between the activities of that Commission and the separate commissions established in the House and Senate.

The Senate began planning its bicentennial in 1980 with the appointment of a Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. (See "Final Report of the Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary," Senate Doc. 98–13.) On April 11, 1986, the Senate established a Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Senate.

House Bicentennial Planning

On December 17, 1982, the 97th Congress adopted House Resolution 621, which established the Office for the Bicentennial of the House of Representatives. The purpose of this office is to plan the commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the House in 1989. The management, supervision, and administration of the office is under the direction of the Speaker of the House. It is staffed by a professional historian, selected by a bipartisan committee of House Members after a nationwide search. The Historian was appointed by the Speaker without regard to political affiliation and solely on the basis of fitness to perform the duties of the position. The office will cease to exist not later than September 30, 1989, unless otherwise provided by law or resolution.

On August 1, 1985, the House of Representatives established a Commission on the United States House of Representatives Bicentenary (H. Res. 249). The bipartisan Commission was created to "oversee the planning and direction of the commemoration of the bicentennial of the House of Representatives through an appropriate program of publications, exhibits, symposia, and related activities." The eight-member Commission is composed of three Democrats, three Republicans and two former Members, one from each party. Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) and Minority Leader Robert Michel (R-Ill.) serve as ex-officio members. The chairman of the Commission, appointed by the Speaker on August 1, 1985 is Lindy Boggs (D-La.). The other members of the Commission are: Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), Paul Henry (R-Mich.), Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), Philip Sharp (D-Ind.), Bud Shuster (R-Pa.), and former Congressmen Richard Bolling (D-Mo.), and John Rhodes (R-Ariz.). Since its formation the Commission has worked in consultation with the Office for the Bicentennial to endorse particular projects and to plan appropriate observances during the bicentennial era.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Publications

The Commission has endorsed two major publications for the Bicentennial. The first, a new edition of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989,* already has been authorized by the 99th Congress (S. Con. Res. 85). The new edition will include updates for all Members' service since 1971, the date of the last edition, as well as adding new information regarding Members from throughout the history of Congress. The Office for the Bicentennial is preparing the new *Directory* in conjunction with the Senate Historical Office. To date, the Office for the Bicentennial has edited seventy-five percent of the entries and identified all party leaders and committee chairmen. The revised entries also include more accurate party designations and biblographic citations. After the convening of the 100th Congress, work will begin on compiling entries for new Members and updating information on sitting Members. This bicentennial edition of the *Biographical Directory* will be published in January 1989.

The Commission also endorsed the publication of a *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1987.* This guide is based on a national survey, coordinated by the Office for the Bicentennial, to locate the papers, memoirs, and other important memorabilia of former Representatives. It will serve as an essential reference work for anyone doing research on the history of Congress and the careers of former Members. The Office for the Bicentennial has distributed survey forms to the fifty states and is working with volunteers who coordinate the search in individual states. Thirty-five states have returned the completed survey forms. The data from the states, along with that compiled by the staff of the Office of the Bicentennial, has been entered on a computer system from which the volume will be printed directly. Publication of the *Guide* is scheduled for March 1988. The Commission unanimously approved a proposal that a printing resolution be introduced to authorize the publication of this volume. The resolution should be introduced during the first session of the 100th Congress in order to meet the scheduled publication date.

A third publication approved by the Commission is a bicentennial brochure for visitors to the House of Representatives. Pending passage of the appropriation bill authorizing use of unexpended bicentennial funds for the printing of bicentennial publications, the Office for the Bicentennial will prepare the brochure for distribution through Member's offices during the 100th Congress. The brochure will be a guide to the present chamber and Statuary Hall, with a special emphasis on the history of the House of Representatives. The Office for the Bicentennial has prepared a preliminary text for the brochure and is working with graphic designers to develop an appropriate layout. (For additional publications planned, see Appendix A.)

Symposia

In addition to publications, the Commission has endorsed the idea of holding at least two symposia to promote a better under-

standing of the history of Congress and to encourage research on the history of the House of Representatives. The specific subject of the symposia will be developed by the Office for the Bicentennial in consultation with the Commission.

The proposals advanced thus far include an all-day symposium on the problems of doing research on the history of Congress that would bring to Washington top scholars of the Congress from several disciplines. Another proposed symposium would feature winners of the Pulitzer Prize in history and biography who would prepare commissioned essays on aspects of the 200-year development of the Congress or focus on the biographies of outstanding former Members. In both of these instances the symposia proceedings would be published in order to reach a much wider audience than those able to attend the symposia. These events could also be televised and edited for classroom use.

The Commission cosponsored the Republican Research Committee's conference on the 100th Congress, held May 19, 1986. This conference, also sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, invited Members of Congress and scholars to discuss a variety of topics on the development of the institution and projections about the future. A publication will result from this conference which will be available when the 100th Congress convenes.

Exhibits

The Commission authorized the Office for the Bicentennial to work with the Senate Historian, the Senate Curator, and the Office of the Architect of the Capitol to develop plans for bicentennial exhibits in the Capitol. Much of the work on such exhibits will be accomplished through existing resources in congressional support offices.

One exhibit under consideration would feature large maps of the United States graphically showing election results in all congressional districts for key elections in American history. This exhibit would be based on the work of Dr. Ken Martis of West Virginia University who has carefully mapped the 30,864 congressional elections held in the United States since 1789.

Ceremonies

In addition to the projects carried out or directed by the Office for the Bicentennial, the Commission has considered several larger projects that will require the assistance of a number of congressional offices and the private sector. The Commission has devoted considerable discussion to the city of Philadelphia's invitation to Congress to convene there in a session on July 16, 1987. This session, the first ever outside of the seat of government, would commemorate the 200th anniversary of the "Great Compromise," in which the Constitutional Convention agreed to the proper structure of the House and Senate. The Commission agreed to approach the leadership for a recommendation to proceed with planning for the trip to Philadelphia. The House leadership agreed to pursue the idea, and the Office for the Bicentennial has coordinated the meetings between House officers and the planning group of the "We the People-200" organization in Philadelphia. In July 1986, representa-

tives of the House leadership, the Commission, and elected officers of the House and Senate traveled to Philadelphia to review the plans for the proposed visit of Congress. These staff members and congressional officers have reported their general satisfaction with the logistics developed by the "We the People-200" group in Philadelphia. At a later meeting of the Commission, the Members approved the idea of going to Philadelphia, but have yet to determine the particulars of such a trip. To date, the discussion has involved the question of holding a legislative session and proposals for the appropriate commemorative ceremonies on such an occasion. The Commission has agreed that a concurrent resolution will be sufficient to authorize the Congress to convene in Philadelphia. The final determination on the trip to Philadelphia and the nature of the ceremonies to be held there must be made by the 100th Congress.

Special ceremonies for the entire Congress in the form of a joint meeting should be held on the 200th anniversary of the Congress on March 4, 1989. The House should develop plans to celebrate the 200th anniversary of its first quorum on April 1, 1989.

Private Sector Involvement in Bicentennial

The Commission has agreed that financial support and other assistance from the private sector will be an important component of a successful observance of the bicentenary. The Commission members resolved that the Office for the Bicentennial is authorized to develop with the help of interested organizations a plan of action for private sector participation in the bicentenary of the U.S. Congress. These plans would include the creation of an appropriate non-profit entity to raise funds for bicentennial activities. The Office for the Bicentennial, along with the Senate Historical Office, already has brought together corporate support and a recognized documentary filmmaker to produce a one-hour film on the history of Congress, to be aired in 1989. Ken Burns, director of award-winning films such as "Brooklyn Bridge," "Statue of Liberty," and "Huey Long," will direct the film in conjunction with Washington, D.C. public television station WETA and with financial support from a major communications corporation. The Office for the Bicentennial, with the endorsement of the Commission, also has explored the possibility of holding "town meeting" teleconferences during the bicentennial years. These teleconferences would feature Members of Congress discussing bicentennial topics with their constituents. Several corporations in the private sector have expressed interest in providing support for the teleconferences.

Reestablishment of Commission in 100th Congress

The Commission on the U.S. House of Representatives Bicentenary will expire at the close of the 99th Congress. The Members of the current Commission recommend that the 100th Congress appoint a new Commission as soon as possible after convening in January 1987. A new Commission will be necessary to complete the plans for the proposed session in Philadelphia and to provide continuity in the overall planning for the bicentennial of the House in 1989.

Work of the Office for the Bicentennial of the House of Representatives

The major task of the Office for the Bicentennial has been to prepare the approved publications and support the Commission in the development of new bicentennial projects and ceremonies. The Office also has functioned as the Historical Office for the House of Representatives. The staff frequently answers research questions from Members' office, historical researchers throughout the country, the public, and the press. The Office's quarterly newsletter, *History in the House,* provides historical sketches related to the early years of Congress and current information on various plans for the Bicentennial. The Office for the Bicentennial regularly works to promote research on the history of the House of Representatives. The staff has advised retiring Members on the proper disposition of their personal papers and has worked with the Office of the Clerk and the Legislative Records Division of the National Archives and Records Administration on issues related to the official records of the House at the National Archives.

The 5-person staff of the Office for the Bicentennial has an office in Room 138 Cannon House Office Building. It is headed by the Historian and Director, Dr. Raymond W. Smock. The other staff members are: Dr. Bruce A. Ragsdale, Associate Historian; Ms. Cynthia Pease Miller, Assistant Historian; Mr. Martin D. Gurganus, Research Assistant; and Ms. Carol Staszewski, Secretary.

APPENDIX A

Summary of Bicentennial Projects of the Office for the Bicentennial of the U.S. House of Representatives

The following projects were either under way or planned as of October 1986.

UNDER WAY

Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress

Authorized by S. Con. Res. 85 (99th Congress).

A thorough revision of the standard biographical resource of all Members who have served in the Congress since the beginning of the Continental Congress in 1774. This publication is a cooperative effort with the Senate Historical Office.

A Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the U.S. House of Representatives

A nationwide survey in all fifty states is being conducted to locate historically valuable papers, memoirs, diaries, photographs, and other research material on the approximately 10,000 persons who have served in the House of Representatives since 1789. The Guide will be published in 1988.

Bibliographical Data Base on the History of the U.S. House of Representatives

This project will result in assembling lists of books and articles on the House of Representatives, including biographies and auto-

biographies of Members and former Members, doctoral dissertations, histories, and scholarly studies by or about Members and the institution itself. Selected entries will be published in the new edition of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress,* while the remainder of the entries will form an electronic data base available to researchers.

House of Representatives Bicentennial Brochure, 1987

A handsomely illustrated, four-color brochure featuring a brief introduction to the bicentennial of the House and information on the House Chamber will be prepared for use beginning with the 100th Congress.

Black Americans in Congress

Research is under way to update this booklet, which was last published in 1976. It will be available in 1988.

PLANNED

Meeting of Congress in Philadelphia, July 16, 1987

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the "Great Compromise" that established the basis of representation in the House and Senate. This event would focus on the distinctive role of the Congress in the federal system. The events may include an actual legislative meeting, the first time in 187 years that the Congress will have convened outside of Washington, D.C.

Ceremonial Sessions of the House and Senate March 4, 1989 and April 1, 1989

To commemorate the convening of the First Congress under the Constitution a special joint session will be held on March 4, 1989. On April 1, 1989, the House will commemorate the bicentennial of its first quorum with a special ceremony in the House Chamber.

Research Conferences on Congress

At least two conferences will be held, one in 1987 and one in 1988, that will be jointly sponsored with the Senate, the Library of Congress, and other institutional sponsors.

Exhibitions and Posters

Plans are under way to create special bicentennial exhibits in the Capitol and the House office buildings. A series of bicentennial posters will be printed and made available for wide distribution.

PRIVATE SECTOR ACTIVITIES

Documentary Film on the History of Congress (Under Way)

An hour long documentary film on the history of the Congress will be produced by the award winning producer Ken Burns. Sponsored by Ameritech, the film is scheduled for viewing on PBS in 1989 and will also be distributed to schools in video cassette format.

Illustrated History of the Congress (Under Way)

A beautifully illustrated, popular History of the Congress will be developed simultaneously with the documentary film and will appear as a "companion" volume to the film.

National and State "Town Meeting" Teleconferences (Planned)

The House Commission has encouraged the development of a series of two-way teleconferences between the Congress and the 50 states to discuss a broad range of topics related to federal-state relations under the Constitution. Material edited from the teleconferences would also be made available in video cassette format for further use in schools.

APPENDIX B

Major Historical Dates and Scheduled Bicentennial Events

February 1987.—Publication of bicentennial brochure on the House of Representatives.

May 25, 1787.—Opening of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

July 16, 1787.—"Great Compromise" at the Constitutional Convention provided for proportional representation in the House of Representatives and equal representation of states in the Senate.

July 16, 1987.—Date of proposed Joint Meeting of Congress in Philadelphia.

September 17, 1787.—Signing of the Constitution.

September 17, 1987.—Representatives of the three branches of the federal government will join in ceremonies in Philadelphia.

December 7, 1787.—Delaware becomes the first state to ratify the Constitution.

March 1988.—Publication of the *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1987.*

June 21, 1788.—New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, thereby meeting the requirements for establishing the new government.

January 1989.—Publication of the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989.*

March 4, 1789.—Inauguration of the federal government and first meeting of Congress.

March 4, 1989.—Joint Session of Congress in commemoration of the First Federal Congress.

March 1989.—Premiere of Ken Burns' film on the history of the U.S. Congress.

April 1, 1789.—House of Representatives achieves its first quorum and elects Frederick Muhlenberg Speaker.

April 1, 1989.—Ceremonies in the House Chamber to mark two-hundredth anniversary.

April 6, 1789.—Senate achieves its first quorum.

April 6, 1989.—Commemorative ceremonies in the Senate Chamber.

September 24, 1789—Congress passed Judiciary Act establishing a Supreme Court and federal judiciary.

September 25, 1789.—Congress, in response to the states' demand for a Bill of Rights, submitted to the states twelve amendments to the Constitution.

December 15, 1791.—Ratification of ten amendments making up a Bill of Rights.

APPENDIX C

Members of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution

Warren E. Burger, Chairman, Former Chief Justice of the United States.

Frederick K. Biebel, Chairman, U.S. Constitution Council of the Thirteen Original States, Inc.

Lindy Boggs, U.S. House of Representatives.

Herbert Brownell, Lord, Day & Lord, Former U.S. Attorney General.

Lynne V. Cheney, Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities.

Philip M. Crane, U.S. House of Representatives.

Dennis DeConcini, U.S. Senate.

William J. Green, Wolf, Block, Schorr, & Solis-Cohen, former Mayor of Philadelphia.

Reverend Edward Victor Hill, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church.

Cornelia G. Kennedy, Circuit Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals.

Edward M. Kennedy, U.S. Senate.

Harry McKinley Lightsey, Jr., President, College of Charleston.

William Lucas, Wayne County Executive, Michigan.

Betty Southard Murphy, Baker & Hostetler, former Chairman, National Labor Relations Board.

Thomas H. O'Connor, Professor of History, Boston College.

Phyllis Schlafly, President, Eagle Forum.

Bernard H. Siegan, Professor of Law, University of San Diego.

Ted Stevens, U.S. Senate.

Obert C. Tanner, Chairman, O.C. Tanner Company.

Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore, U.S. Senate.

Ronald H. Walker, Managing Director and Partner, Korn/Ferry International.

Charles E. Wiggins, Circuit Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals.

Charles Alan Wright, Professor of Law, University of Texas Law School.

APPENDIX D

U.S. SENATE BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

(ESTABLISHED UNDER AUTHORITY OF S. RES. 352, 99TH CONGRESS)

STROM THURMOND (R–SC), *Chairman*

JOHN C. STENNIS (D–MS), *Vice-Chairman*

ROBERT DOLE (R-KS)
MARK O. HATFIELD (R-OR)
NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM (R-KS)

ROBERT C. BYRD (D-WV)
PAUL SIMON (D-IL)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JO-ANNE L. COE, *Secretary of the Senate*

STAFF COORDINATORS
RICHARD A. BAKER, *Historian of the Senate*
JAMES R. KETCHUM, *Curator of the Senate*

APPENDIX E

BICENTENNIAL RELATED LEGISLATION

99TH CONGRESS

Bicentennial of Congress

H. Res. 249.—A resolution establishing the Commission on the United States House of Representatives Bicentenary. Agreed to August 1, 1985.

S. Con. Res. 85.—An original concurrent resolution to authorize the compilation and printing of the Bicentennial Edition of the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. Agreed to by House December 12, 1985. Agreed to by Senate December 13, 1985.

S. Res. 352.—A resolution relating to the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Senate of the United States. Agreed to April 11, 1986. Establishes a Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Senate to oversee and coordinate bicentennial activities.

H. Res. 434.—A resolution authorizing printing of the compilation of materials entitled, "Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1987."

H.R. 5035.—A bill establishing a commission to coordinate the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Congress. (Introduced in Senate as S. 2773.)

Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution

H.R. 3559.—A bill to amend the Act establishing a Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States to clarify the status of employees of the Commission, to raise the limits on private contributions, and for other purposes. Passed House June 24, 1986. Passed Senate October 3, 1986. In conference. This bill would extend the life of the Commission through 1991, and further defines the duties of the Commission.

Other Bicentennial Activities

H.R. 3842.—A bill to designate September 17, 1987, the bicentennial of the signing of the Constitution of the United States, as "Constitution Day," and to make such day a legal public holiday. Submitted earlier as H.R. 106 and submitted in the Senate as S. 2216.

S. Res. 425.—An original resolution to waive section 303(a) of the Congressional Budget Act, with respect to consideration of S. 2216, designating September 17, 1987, the bicentennial of the signing of the Constitution of the United States; as "Constitution Day." Reported to the Senate by Committee on Budget.

S. Con. Res. 104.—A concurrent resolution urging the States and Territories to establish their own Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. Agreed to by Senate February 4, 1986; referred to the House.

H. Con. Res. 375.—A concurrent resolution designating the 1987 United States Capitol Historical Society "We the People" calendar as the official congressional calendar for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Agreed to by the House and Senate.

H.R. 3415.—A bill to authorize the minting of coins in commemoration of the bicentennial of the United States Constitution. Passed by House October 1, 1986.

98TH CONGRESS

S. 118.—A bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution. Became Public Law 98-101 on September 27, 1983.

97TH CONGRESS

H. Res. 621.—A resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to establish an Office for the Bicentennial of the House of Representatives. Agreed to December 17, 1982.

96TH CONGRESS

S. Res. 381.—A resolution establishing a Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. Agreed to on August 1, 1980 and amended on January 28, 1982, (S. Res. 285). Report issued May 12, 1983, as Senate Document 98-13.

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